

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AID-05 IGA-02 SS-15 SP-02 /035 W

-----081833 041352Z /46

P 041055Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5023

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 KHARTOUM 2602

FOR MS. GOLDA BUTCHER, ASST ADMINISTRATOR FOR AFRICA, AID
AND AMBASSADOR SEELYE, DEPUTY ASST SECRETARY, AF.

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: AMGT, EAID, SU

SUBJECT: THE AID PROGRAM IN THE SUDAN

1. I HOPE THAT WASHINGTON BRIEFING OF INCOMING U.S.
AID REPRESENTATIVE PIERSON WILL PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR
A HARD LOOK AT YOUR LEVEL OF PRESENT AND PROJECTED AID
PROGRAM FOR THE SUDAN. AFTER REVIEWING THE HISTORY OF
THE U.S. PRESENT EFFORT, HAVING AN OPPORTUNITY TO
OBSERVE WHAT OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE DOING HERE,
AND BEING ABLE TO GET SOME FEELING OF THE NATURE OF
THE SUDAN'S NEEDS, I AM IN A STATE BORDERING DESPAIR.
I AM CONCERNED LEST AID BECOME A BURDEN TO
U.S. - SUDANESE RELATIONS RATHER THAN A POSITIVE FACTOR.

2. MY FIRST CONCERN IS THE TIMING OF OUR ACTIONS
TO IMPLEMENT DECISIONS TAKEN AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL
WITHIN OUR OWN GOVERNMENT. THE PRESENT AND THE
PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS EACH TOOK A MAJOR POLICY
DECISION TO EXPAND AND STRENGTHEN OUR RELATIONS
WITH THE SUDAN. IN THIS PROCESS AID WAS TO PLAY
A SIGNIFICANT ROLE. FIFTEEN RPT FIFTEEN MONTHS AGO,
IN MAY 1976, MY DISTINGUISHED PREDECESSOR PERSONALLY
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INFORMED PRESIDENT NIMEIRI OF OUR DECISION TO RESUME
AN AID PROGRAM TO THE SUDAN. SINCE THAT TIME, WITH
THE LAUDABLE EXCEPTIONS OF A TRAINING PROGRAM
FINANCED FROM AID REGIONAL FUNDS AND A TITLE I,
PL-480 TRANSACTION, VERY LITTLE OF SIGNIFICANCE HAS
HAPPENED. AS FAR AS WE CAN MAKE OUT REALISTIC AID
TIMETABLES, IT WILL BE AT LEAST ANOTHER YEAR BEFORE

ANY PHYSICAL ACITVITY ON AID DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS
IN THE SUDAN WILL BECOME VISIBLE.

3. ANOTHER CONCERN IS THE LACK OF COMMUNICATION
FROM AID WASHINGTON TO THIS EMBASSY. OUR DOSSIER
OF UNREQUITED COMMUNICATIONS TO AID WASHINGTON IS
THICK INDEED. WE ARE LEFT WITH A FEELING THAT
WHATEVER IS BEING PLANNED OR DONE BACK THERE IS
BEING PLANNED OR DONE BY PEOPLE WHO HAVE CHOSEN
TO MARCH TO THEIR OWN DRUMMER. IDEAS OR SUGGESTIONS
FROM THIS COUNTRY TEAM ARE NOT, APPARENTLY,
VERY WELCOME.

4. THIS LACK OF COMMUNICATION LEADS TO A THIRD
CONCERN. WE THINK THAT AID/W MAY BE PUTTING TOGETHER
A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY WITH WHICH THIS COUNTRY TEAM
WILL HAVE INCREASING PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS. THE
PROGRAM THAT HAS SO FAR BEEN BLOCKED OUT DOES NOT
IMPRESS ME, NOR WILL IT BE MUCH OF A FAVORABLE FACTOR
IN THE OVERALL US-SUDANESE RELATIONSHIP. IT HAS
BEEN LARGELY THE RESULT OF A SERIES OF TEAM VISITS AND
A SLAVISH AND UNIMAGINATIVE DEVOTION TO THE LETTER OF
WHAT IS PRESUMED TO BE CONGRESSIONAL INTENTION.
I BELIEVE THAT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REALITIES IN THIS
LARGE COUNTRY WITH SIGNIFICANT UNTAPPED RESOURCES
ARE OUR BEST ASSURANCE THAT ALL, EVEN THE POOREST,
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WILL BENEFIT FROM ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. LET'S
GET OUT OF THE TREES AND TAKE A LOOK AT THE FOREST.

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ACTION AF-10

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FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5024

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 KHARTOUM 2602

FOR MS. GOLDA BUTCHER, ASST ADMINISTRATOR FOR AFRICA, AID
AND AMBASSADOR SEELYE, DEPUTY ASST SECRETARY, AF

5. A FACTOR LEADING ME TO SEND THIS MESSAGE WAS AN EXAMINATION OF THE AID BUDGET PRESENTATION FOR THE SUDAN. INPUT FROM THE KHARTOUM COUNTRY TEAM WAS NEITHER SOUGHT NOR USED IN THIS PAPER. THIS EXTREMELY LENGTHY, CHATTY, AND VERY BUSY DOCUMENT LEAVES OUT ONE FAIRLY SIGNIFICANT FACT. THAT FACT IS THAT THE EMPEROR HAS NO CLOTHES. IF THIS DOCUMENT IS USED WITH THE CONGRESS TO SEEK SUPPORT FOR THE SUDAN PROGRAM, WE WILL HAVE CREDIBILITY PROBLEMS THAT WILL PLAGUE US FOR YEARS TO COME. MOREOVER, IT COULD COMMIT US TO AN AID STRATEGY IN THE SUDAN WHICH MAY PROVE TO BE UNWORKABLE AND INEFFECTIVE.

6. MY HOPE IS THAT MR. PIERSON WILL COME OUT OF HIS WASHINGTON BRIEFINGS WITH A RENEWED SENSE OF PURPOSE WITH REGARD TO AID'S MISSION IN THE SUDAN, AS WELL AS THE ASSURANCE THAT ANY FUTURE INPUT BY THE KHARTOUM COUNTRY TEAM WILL BE GIVEN EXPEDITIOUS HANDLING AND FAIR TREATMENT. I WILL COOPERATE WITH HIM TO THE FULLEST.

7. MOREOVER, I WILL MAKE ANY NECESSARY ADJUSTMENTS IN MY OWN THINKING THAT WOULD SERVE TO EXPEDITE THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAM. LIKE MY PREDECESSOR, I HAVE THOUGHT IT WOULD SERVE OUR INTEREST BEST IF THE GROWTH OF THE AID MISSION IN KHARTOUM WERE CLOSELY COORDINATED WITH THE ONSET OF ACTUAL AID DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITY IN THIS COUNTRY. OUR WESTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES WHO ARE CONTRIBUTING SIGNIFICANTLY TO SUDAN'S DEVELOPMENT, SEEM TO HAVE ACHIEVED THIS KIND OF COORDINATION. THE ARGUMENT HAS BEEN MADE TO ME, HOWEVER, THAT WE NEED IN KHARTOUM A CONGERIES OF TECHNICAL AND BUREAUCRATIC SKILLS IN ORDER TO MAKE THE AID/W MACHINE WORK EFFECTIVELY FOR THE SUDAN PROGRAM. THE IDEA THAT THIS EMBASSY MUST BUILD UP ITS OWN BUREAUCRACY TO COPE MORE EFFICIENTLY WITH THE WASHINGTON BUREAUCRACY LACKS APPEAL, SOMEHOW. BUT, IF STRENGTHENING MR. PIERSON'S IMMEDIATE STAFF WILL LEAD TO RESULTS BENEFICIAL TO U.S.- SUDAN RELATIONS, I WILL STOMACH MY MISGIVINGS AND GO ALONG WITH IT.

8. FINALLY, I WANT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT I AM NOT ENVISIONING A VAST PROGRAM INVOLVING MAJOR CAPITAL TRANSFERS, ESPECIALLY NOT IN LIGHT OF THE ARAB RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO THIS COUNTRY. BUT IF WE MAKE EFFECTIVE AND CAREFUL USE OF THE MODEST AID RESOURCES AT OUR DISPOSAL, WE WILL HAVE AN AID PROGRAM WHICH IS A PLUS IN OUR RELATIONS AND WHICH WILL TAKE AN HONORABLE THIRD PLACE, AFTER MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND THE EFFORTS OF U.S. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, IN THE SCALE OF IMPORTANCE OF U.S. ACTIVITIES IN THIS COUNTRY.
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